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the whole gives the appearance of having been compiled for the occasion. The treatment of the relation of the Church to the Empire, as of one great social force to another it was destined to supplant, labors too much under the influence of the tradition of Gibbon, to whom the Church was merely an institution within civil society. Augustine's vision of the City of God which dominated the thought of the period of transition from ancient to modern times, seems to hover before the mind of the author without being clearly seen and still less appreciated. Yet he sees clearly that the Church, on account of its ecclesiastical system, was necessarily a disintegrating force in the Empire and that its courts interfered with the administration of civil justice on the part of the State, yet did serve to transmit to the Middle Ages no small stock of legal notions.

To sum the matter up, the book appears to us to be an excellent *Vorarbeit* to a thorough-going work on the inter-action of Church and State in the fourth and fifth centuries. As such it has a value both for the author and the student of history and politics. The author doubtless would be the last to regard his work as being more than that.

J. C. AYER, JR.

The Labor Movement in Australasia: A Study in Social-Democracy.

By VICTOR S. CLARK, Ph.D. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. x, 327.)

Unusual interest attaches to the labor movement in Australia and New Zealand on account of the fact that many of its features, which elsewhere are still merely subjects of discussion, are, in those countries, among the leading questions of present practical politics. Any work bearing upon this movement is, therefore, of interest to students of politics as well as to those of labor problems. Certainly this is true of the present work of Dr. Clark. The author has made no attempt to present a detailed study of the history of the labor movement in Australasia, nor to describe at length the social legislation that has there been enacted. Instead, he has sought to make his study a critical and philosophical consideration of the causes that have induced the action that has been taken, and the effect of such action upon the political and social life of the people. His work represents a minimum of description and a maximum of analysis. The result is

an exceedingly interesting and valuable study of the political and social experiments of the Australasian people, and one that makes a thoroughly readable work.

The value of this study is much enhanced to American readers through the fact that comparisons are constantly made of the conditions and forces in the United States with those in the countries under consideration with a view to determining why, in the two countries presenting conditions in many respects so similar and peopled for the most part by persons from the same racial stock, measures of social reform have taken on such dissimilar aspects. In the one, workingmen and the masses generally have relied for the most part upon individual efforts and voluntary association; in the other, appeal has been made to the powers of the State. In the one, social and political reforms have pursued more or less independent courses; in the other, they have formed a single movement. The explanation of this, the author finds in various circumstances. In the United States, politics has had to concern itself with large questions, involving relations with foreign countries and of one class of political bodies with another; in Australasia, these questions have been fewer and simpler, with the result that political action has necessarily been restricted chiefly to matters of social and industrial organization. In the former country, again, the great diversity of physical conditions and the high development of the skilled trades have led to the growth of diverse classes of labor and the creation of facilities for workingmen, as individuals, bettering their conditions within their trades; in the latter, conditions have been more uniform and skilled labor less important, so that class, rather than individual, improvement has seemed to present the more promising method of advancement. But, most important of all, in the United States the struggle for industrial democracy did not become acute until that for political democracy had terminated; while in Australasia both have had to be striven for at the same time. "If the working people of the United States were fighting for equal suffrage, free schools, emigration restriction and liberal land laws, at the same time as for higher wages, shorter hours and generally better conditions of employment, trade union methods would appear to them as inadequate, as they do to colonial workingmen." Especially interesting is the fact, brought out by the author in this connection, that, owing to the comparatively slight development of local government in the colonies, the trade union has become to the masses in Australasia what the township and primaries have been to the people

of the United States in furnishing the means through which their democratic aspirations have found expression. Today the industrial unions of workingmen, as organized in accordance with the provisions of the compulsory arbitration acts, are the real primary bodies through which the workingmen express their desires regarding political action and exercise a control over their representatives in the legislature.

Equally interesting to the student of politics is the fact, specially commented upon by the author, that, contrary to original intention, the boards of arbitration, from being purely judicial bodies, have in fact become essentially legislative bodies, in which are promulgated orders having all of the force of law regulating industrial conditions and relations in their most vital aspects.

It is impossible within the compass of this review even to mention the various respects in which the social legislation of Australasia presents features of interest. What has been said, however, will tend to illustrate the method of treatment of the author in his attempt to make clear the fundamental significance of the action taken. As regards the effect of this action upon the general welfare of the people, the conclusions of the author are that the results have not been so pronounced as might have been expected. As regards labor laws, properly speaking, "the evidence, therefore, does not show that the Australasian countries have received a general setback from general regulation of industries. The investment of foreign capital may have been checked by the novelty and uncertainty of this legislation, but local capital has been found to meet the demand of growing enterprises. The impression the country makes upon a visitor is not that of a land where industry is paralyzed and business stagnated, but rather the reverse." And, as regards the more strictly socialistic legislation, "an outside observer, unless a faddist on government ownership, will probably come away from Australasia with a feeling that after all this issue is less important—as affecting the social and economic welfare of the people—than those who theoretically discuss the subject suppose. Government ownership does not bankrupt the State, deaden private enterprise and kill prosperity; neither does it bring with a bump a nation into an industrial millennium."

Persons desiring a detailed description of labor conditions and legislation in Australasia should consult the two reports made by Dr. Clark to the United States Bureau of Labor: "Labor Conditions in New Zealand" and "Labor Conditions in Australia," published in

Bulletins Nos. 49 and 56 of that Bureau, reports which the present volume admirably supplements.

W. F. WILLOUGHBY.

Citizenship and the Schools. By JEREMIAH W. JENKS. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. viii, 264.)

To bring together in a single volume essays and addresses written at long intervals on various themes, is to take large risks with literary unity. In the present instance the title is obviously an after-thought, suggesting retrospectively the general trend of the author's thinking on public questions during some fifteen years. Of the nine chapters all deal directly or indirectly with problems of education; five have to do with training for citizenship in the largest sense. There is a distinct continuity of thought in these five chapters. Professor Jenks is convinced that "not all, but a large part of our social evils come not from wickedness or hard-heartedness or injustice—though all these, too, bring evils in their train—but merely from a maladjustment of social relations." The task of social reformers, then is to effect wise readjustments. Individuals and institutions must be taught to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. This adaptation may be furthered by many agencies, but by none more than by the public school. Training for citizenship should be a matter of prime concern to all teachers from the kindergarten to the university. By training for citizenship is not meant merely formal instruction in history and civil government, but rather "the awakening of a living interest in public affairs, the arousing of a determination to see and judge political life fairly and impartially as it is, the kindling of a resolve in the student's mind to stand for the best and noblest measures in the State."

The most serious of these maladjustments, from which society now suffers, are industrial. On every hand workingmen fail to fit into industrial society as at present organized. Such failures are partly due to individual defects, but also to industrial conditions for which workingmen are not responsible. Professor Jenks believes that the public schools may render far more effective service than at present by lessening the technical inefficiency of the workingman and by giving him greater power of adaptation to his shifting environment. Manual training in some form is a valuable means to this end, not merely because it teaches greater technical skill. but also because